

# THE CRISIS.

Devoted to the Support of the Democratic Principles of Jefferson.

“Union, harmony, self-denial, concession—everything for the Cause, nothing for Men.”

No. 4.

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Vol. I.

## TERMS.

The Crisis will be printed in quarto form, on a medium sheet, with new type. The price \$1—and no paper will be sent to any person, without payment in advance, postage paid. As nothing short of a very large and effective subscription can justify the continuation of the paper, the above terms will be strictly adhered to.

We mean to make no debts at all. We abjure all credit in this establishment, and insist upon the Cash System.

It is earnestly requested, that subscriptions for THE CRISIS be immediately sent to the Enquirer Office; though arrangements will be made to furnish subscribers with the back numbers as long as we have any on hand.

## POLITICS.

### The Able Exposure of an Honorable Man.

We lay before our readers, a frank and forcible letter from Wm. P. Taylor, Esq., of Caroline—which confirms all that we have said in relation to the “senior son of John Taylor of Caroline.” It shows why he has abandoned the Whig banner; and why he repudiates Gen. Harrison; and why he supports Mr. Van Buren. His arguments are addressed to the calm understanding of every State Rights’ Whig in the South.

We pass no strictures on the conduct of the Richmond Whig, in first rashly attacking Mr. Taylor—and then denying him the opportunity of defending himself. The Whig says it has “no sea-room” for the letter. We hope, hereafter when we come to use the same argument in relation to its friends, that it will not be the first to abuse us.—This indignant castigation, for which the Editor finds no sea-room, may teach the Whig a little caution hereafter. It may teach him to beware how he first takes for granted that a man is an author, and then rashly attacks him for it.

WHIG OFFICE, March 21.

The Editors of the Whig not having the sea-room to publish Mr. W. P. Taylor’s letter, hand it over to the Editor of the Enquirer, as directed by Mr. Taylor.

Caroline County, March 4, 1840.

GENTLEMEN—I should have replied to your attack sooner, if at all. Your paper containing it, reached me at a time when the scarlet fever had just broken out in my family, and in that of a niece residing near me. Its progress was rapid. Eight deaths followed in rapid succession—and among them, two out of the three children of my niece. My time was wholly taken up in attending the sick. When the first violence of the disease subsided, I wrote an answer, the greater part of which was destroyed by the negligence of a servant, and some time elapsed before I could summon up resolution to go a second time over the ungrateful task. These circumstances will excuse my delay.

Your obedient servant,

WM. P. TAYLOR.

To the Editors of the Whig.

MARCH 4, 1830.

Gentlemen: In the Whig of the 18th, you have made a harsh and unjust attack on me, upon the conjecture, that I was the writer of an anonymous letter, published in the Enquirer. If the conjecture had turned out to be true, you were, perhaps, the last men who possessed the moral right to assail me. You have been so much accustomed, of late, to call in question, not only the political conduct, but the character and motives of those opposed to you, that a single offence of the same kind, from another quarter, might have been charitably overlooked.

You have called me an apostate, a traitor, a corrupt and trading politician; and I must patiently submit to be branded with infamy in the eyes of my countrymen, so far as the influence of your paper can fasten the stain upon me, to gratify your intolerant spirit, or possibly in deference to what you may be pleased to call the freedom of the press, or do what I unaffectedly assure you is very shocking to my “retiring modesty,” defend myself publicly against your public accusations. It is true that you subsequently acknowledged your mistake in attributing to me the authorship of the letter; but you took especial care neither to retract the charges, nor to express the slightest regret for having made them. When you say, that “nothing short of what we deemed conclusive evidence could have persuaded us that he was the author,” you abandon the ground of conjecture as insufficient to justify your abuse of an obscure and unoffending man; and as it was impossible, from the nature of the case, to have had any other kind of evidence, you utter an awkward apology (to give it no harsher name) by dignifying with that term, either your own suspicion or that of another.

No one is better acquainted with the origin and history of the Whig party, than you are. You know full well, it was not formed for the purpose of elevating Mr. Clay or Gen. Harrison to the Presidency; and that, if such an object had been avowed, the Southern States Rights’ men would have refused to enlist in the Whig

ranks. While they were perfectly willing to co-operate with all or any, in the honest hope of rescuing the Constitution and the country from the danger threatened by President Jackson’s violent and arbitrary course, backed by his great popularity, they could never have forgotten their old political warfare, commencing with the adoption of the Government, continued to the present time, and waged, first, with the Federal party; and afterwards with the Nationals. Nothing could have induced them, to have made an absolute surrender of themselves, their principles, and their country, to men, who, however talented, honest and patriotic, (and I willingly accord it all,) had given, as they had repeatedly declared, a construction of the Constitution, calculated to destroy its federate character; and had introduced and sustained a system of internal policy, which was throwing into the public Treasury a dangerous amount of revenue, seducing all our Governments into improvident expenditure and debt, enriching some parts of the country, at the expense of others, and creating murmurs and discontents, rapidly tending towards disunion.

Without meaning to retract one particle of my opposition to President Jackson’s last term of service, I will be frank enough to say, that I now think the State Rights’ portion of the Whigs, committed a great error in joining the party. Retaining their former principles, they should also have held on to their old name. By adopting a new one, which had no peculiar reference to those principles, they were themselves accessory to the colourable charge of inconsistency, first made by their old friends and now reiterated by their old enemies. They should have foreseen what has since happened, that party interest, and party malevolence would claim this temporary alliance, as a bond of permanent union, and that they would be compelled eventually to separate with some loss of strength, or to be absorbed into the new party with entire loss of principles. If they now take sides with the federalists and nationals, who constitute the great body of the Whigs, by giving their votes to a Whig candidate for the Presidency, they publicly retract their former politics and pledge themselves to the support of their opponents. If they do not mean to go thus far, if they have not determined to abandon the cause they have maintained from the origin of the government, it is better to stop and part company at once, than to increase their difficulties and embarrassments by new engagements. The people of this country always have been and are still divided into two great parties, the one aiming to enlarge the powers of government and the other to diminish them. I speak not of the corps of interested partisans, the mere ins and outs, who fight for spoil instead of principle, and who will occasionally unite with either party, as the chances of victory may fluctuate—but of the large, honest and thinking mass of the community, who act conscientiously in the discharge of their public duties, to whichever of these parties they may belong. Without presuming to question the purity of the amalgamated federalists and nationals, or to claim infallibility for their adversaries, I have always believed, that the political course of the first party was calculated to give an irresistible influence to the legislative department of the government. This is the great error on one side; and the support given by the Democratic party to the late extravagant claims of President Jackson, which go far in making the executive department the centre and source of power, was, in my estimation, an equally dangerous error on the other. I look upon both of them as injurious to the wholesome action of our government, with the marked difference, however, that the first was deliberate, designed and systematic—the second, accidental, temporary and the natural consequence of General Jackson’s unbounded influence over the public mind. I opposed the one at the proper time, and oppose the other now, because I see in it the imminent danger somewhat disguised and strengthened by an infusion of orthodoxy.

Now, Gentlemen, with these opinions thus candidly expressed, do you really think, that because I united with the Whigs for one object, I have violated any pledge or broken any faith, by refusing to accede to the latitudinous construction you and others have given to the compact, in order to accomplish another? I acknowledge the engagement, so far as it embraces opposition to arbitrary power claimed or exercised by any President. You contend in substance, that I bound myself to support the nominee of the Harrisburg Convention, whomever he might have been. I positively

deny any such obligation, and affirm that it can neither be proved nor fairly inferred.

I acted with yourselves in the unavailing resistance to Mr. Van Buren’s election. Judging of the future from what had immediately preceded, I felt myself justified in anticipating a continuation of errors; but never being violent in my political feelings, I have sometimes been able to discover and to relinquish old prejudices. When I voted for Judge White, I voted for a man who had been considered up to the time, a long-tried and faithful member of the Democratic Party, and never imagined that the opposition to one or the support of the other, could be held as a pledge of hostility to the new Administration, without any regard to its principles and measures.

After Mr. Van Buren was elected, the Whig party was dissolved, so far as I understood its object; and all its members, composed as it was well known to be, of discordant materials, were naturally left at full liberty to determine their own political course, to re-assume if they pleased their old party connections, and were presumptively to judge the new President by his own acts, rather than those of his predecessors. In my individual case, the question was simply, whether I should re-unite with the party I had uniformly acted with, the last four years of Gen. Jackson’s time excepted, or attach myself permanently to politicians whom I had uniformly opposed, with the exception of the same period, from the honest belief that their principles and policy were subversive of the Constitution and ruinous to the country. It is quite true, that I did not instantly assume my present position. I required, as every man of common sense would naturally have done, some evidence to satisfy me, both that one party meant to avoid its former errors, and the other to persevere in them. I feel no overweening confidence in the correctness of my own opinions, and willingly admit it has not been strengthened, by observing that many gentlemen, of whom I think very highly, have pursued a different course. I must, nevertheless, be permitted to follow the path of duty, and conscience, in despite of the authority of names, the abuse of the press, or the mandates of party.

After the experience of three years, I find myself compelled to applaud the administration of a man whose elevation to power I opposed. With anticipations and prejudices operating to his disadvantage, I am now forced to think Mr. Van Buren’s course as President, has been so prudent, and his exercise of power so moderate, that even his enemies can assign no satisfactory reason for the clamor against him without going back to the times of his predecessor. If he had really followed in the footsteps, I should have seen him denounced in the Whig as rash, violent, obstinate and arbitrary—reviving and proclaiming old Federal doctrines—annually increasing public expenditure—seeking an alliance with the monied institutions of the States—claiming officially the custody of the people’s treasure—denying the right of the people’s immediate agents to enquire into the conduct of public affairs—undermining the integrity of the Representative body and the freedom of the press, by the corrupt use of his patronage. These were some of the charges you made against a former administration, and now think proper to abuse me, because I am not equally willing with yourselves, to censure the moderation and prudence, which we united in believing were so unfortunately wanting in the character of the predecessor. It is certain, that similar offences at the present time could not have escaped the notice of such vigilant guardians of public and private morality, as yourselves; and no feeling of charity, towards the offender, could have induced you to conceal the acts or the evidence from the public eye. Your own silence acquits Mr. Van Buren of any overt act of treason against the Constitution and Laws of his country, and impartial men will probably think that his efforts to diminish expenditure, and to destroy governmental connection with Banks, by lessening the means of corruption, go far to disprove the indefinite charge of practising its arts. We agree, in one important measure, recommended by him.

My own unwavering approbation of the Sub-Treasury scheme, was strongly confirmed by an able letter bearing the signature of one of the Editors of the Whig. I continue to think that any union between the Federal Government and the monied power of the country is fatal to the pure and healthy action of both our banking and political systems. These are objects paramount to the mere partisan contests of the day, and I shall accordingly support the party pledged to the se-



paration, instead of the one opposed to it.

You charge me with being a corrupt and trading politician—a seeker of office, &c. One of you is personally acquainted with me, and if he is the writer of the article, I must frankly say, that I can scarcely think him sincere. It is sufficient to reply by observing, that I hardly consider a man of my domestic and "retiring" habits a politician of any kind; that whenever I have been a candidate, I have yielded my own wishes to those of others; that when Mr. Hunter was first elected to Congress from this district, I voluntarily declined a canvass, with the knowledge that he would have supported me, and that though solicited since, I have constantly refused to permit myself to be nominated in any way, except as a White elector.

Several other passages in your publication require a notice. A letter from Caroline written after the one attributed to me, informs you that I "can influence but four votes—and that Corbin can beat Samuel or the new convert either." This letter-writer gives me just four times more influence than I know of. I am utterly unable to understand his allusion to persons—but if he means to insinuate that I ever attempted to exert any other influence than that of open public conversation and discussion, he is like, yourselves, too much a partisan to bear in mind the common duty of justice. He is probably very right in the assertion, that Corbin can beat me. I am quite indifferent on the subject, and too rarely attend the large meetings of my countymen to be willing or able to contradict him. Whether the same assertion is true in regard to Col. Samuel, will soon be settled, and very possibly not much to the prophetic credit of the writer. I am inclined to think him quite too positive to be much relied on; and that his premature boasting is an evidence of alarm, rather than of assured hope. Remember, Gentlemen, how often you have made the most confident predictions of the same kind, and how rarely they have been verified.

I quote again from the Whig: "This gentleman is one of the corporal's guard in Virginia, that Mr. Calhoun faces to the right about at every Presidential election." My vote was given to Gen. Jackson twice and to Judge White once—and without knowing how Mr. Calhoun voted, I am much disposed to hazard a conjecture, that we were together once only on the three occasions. During the last five years, I have had no communication of any kind with him, except for about three minutes some three years back, when the ordinary salutations passed between us. But I will not be deterred by the little sarcasm of the Whig from expressing publicly a high opinion of him as a man and a statesman, and from saying, that whatever his influence over me may be, it is a voluntary and just tribute to his talents, his principles and his services. Will one of the editors of your paper tell us, when it happened that he took an active part upon any important political question, or for or against any conspicuous politician, in opposition to the known views of Mr. Clay? Does he not at this very time think with Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Calhoun upon the Sub-Treasury question, and act with Mr. Clay against it?

"The coalition between the Nullifier and the Proclamationist," is another theme of coarse and violent denunciation, designed to touch me, though principally aimed at a far mightier than I am. I might safely rest my defence upon asking the question, if it would be fairly answered, how I could have improved my political association in this respect by coalescing with Gen. Harrison? If I am not grossly misinformed, he has said, that this country is as much indebted to President Jackson for the Proclamation, as to Gen. Jackson for the victory at N. Orleans. I have an impression that one of you is understood to be strongly tinged with the heresy of Nullification, if heresy it be, and yet he has never had the slightest difficulty in supporting a Proclamationist in the person of Mr. Clay or General Harrison. If there had been equal objections on this score to the two candidates for the Presidency, my choice would have still fallen on the incumbent, from the force of my old relations to the principles and party of the Democrats, and from the feeling that the temporary causes of estrangement having ceased to operate, it was the natural and proper course for me to resume my former position. But, gentlemen, I despise the charge too much to fear it from yourselves or your party. By what name do you call your late extraordinary arrangement with Mr. Rives? Had he expressed any contrition for his proclamation, force bill, expunging errors, promised any amendment, performed any act of reparation, or given any security for his future good behaviour? Posterity will pronounce it to have been unmitigated dictation on one side, and cowardly submission on the other. At the first summons, you, the sentinels on the watch-tower, surrendered, and unconditionally opened the gates of the fortress, took the oath of allegiance to your new master, and turned your arms upon the few gallant men who disdained the inglorious capitulation. Mr. Rives dealt out characteristic and exact justice. Had you fallen under superior force, he might have had compassion enough to have softened the rigor of his terms; he might have felt sympathy for the gallant soldier borne down by overwhelming numbers: but

holding in utter contempt the recreants who threw away their arms at the first charge of his daring little band, he disdained to furnish any colorable cause to cover the ignominy of your fall, or the glory of his own triumph. I speak not of this gentleman's present political position; but I willingly give him credit for gallantry miserably wasted, and for candor mingled with merited scorn. He was either to become the head of a new party, by dictating his own terms, or its tail, by submitting to the terms of others. With the honorable ambition of a great mind he would not condescend to follow, and with a sagacity which common men were unable to comprehend, he foresaw his own easy victory and your shameful overthrow, and you now put the finishing stroke to this work of notorious degradation, by kneeling at the shrine of your new God, and offering the incense of persecution, against those of your former associates who would no longer trust their honor, in to such keeping. The scene in the political drama to which I refer, enacted for the second time during the past winter, first shook the moral power of the Whig party in Virginia, and subsequent developments are well calculated to satisfy the most common observer, that the contest still is, as of yore, between Federalists and Nationals on one side, and Democrats on the other. A change of name cannot disguise the fact, that a majority of the Whigs are Federalists and Nationals; and it is no matter of wonder, that men who have been beaten so often under their old flag, should attempt to revive the courage of their dispirited troops by hoisting a new one.

This, perhaps, is retaliation, rather than defence. It is, however, fair, and you have no right to complain. I have yet to defend myself against the charge of a disgraceful coalition with a Proclamationist. I set out, with saying, it is your business, to prove that Mr. Van Buren was one—not mine to disprove it. Without one particle of positive testimony, you infer it from the fact, that he belonged to the party at the time, and possibly, with as little truth, as one of you would now be called Anti-Sub-treasury, because he acts with the party opposed to that measure. At the time referred to, Mr. Van Buren was the Vice President of the United States, a position which made it undignified in him to enter into the party violences of the period, and very improper as the presiding officer of the Senate to express prematurely his opinions upon questions involving legislative action. Though the dignity and duties of his station would have fully justified his silence, I readily admit that he may have been also unwilling to lose the support of a powerful party by unnecessary and uncalled-for answers. In the absence of positive testimony, the question must depend upon the comparative strength of inferences. You infer, that he concurred in the doctrines of this State paper because he was a member of the Democratic party, although you well know that there were at the time, and still are, many able men who dissented and yet retained their party connections. My inference is, that he never uttered an opinion upon the subject, because it would have been imprudent and contrary to his duty, and that he did not approve the arbitrary course of the preceding Administration, because his own has been exempted from similar errors. You are supporting Mr. Rives, General Harrison and Mr. Clay, whom you know to be proclamationists, and charge me with disgraceful conduct in sustaining Mr. Van Buren, who is only conjectured to be one. I never declared uncompromising hostility to him or any one else, thinking it safer and more just to decide with evidence than without it, and better to trust to my own unbiased judgment of measures and men, than to follow blindly the bidding of parties or of party editors.

It is far from my intention to depreciate the character or services of Gen. Harrison; but if I rated them as highly as his warmest friends would desire, the circumstance of his being a "Military Chieftain," and, possibly selected in the hope of thereby enlisting in his favor, well known sympathies of our nature, would determine me against him. Fifteen years ago, Mr. Clay, with prophetic wisdom, warned his countrymen, against this danger—describing it as the "fatal road which has conducted every other Republic to ruin." In contempt of the admonition, we have just seen this gentleman—superior in every proper qualification, in talents, attainments, and long experience in high civil stations—brought into competition with two Military Chieftains, and his claims postponed to those of one, if not of both. Little did I think, that the time for feeling the force of his warning would so speedily arrive; and still less, that he and his friends would form the very party who now so warmly recommend the army as the "line of safe precedents." Every succeeding election of a military man will give an hundred fold power to the precedent, and a very few more only will be wanting to make the Presidency the established privilege of the army, and to encourage in the end some aspiring chieftain to become the Bonaparte or the Cromwell of his country.

If the mysterious nomination of Gen. Harrison, in despite of the superior claims and qualifications of Mr. Clay, is to be assigned not to the above, but to some

other cause, I venture to suggest another, which makes it equally imperative upon me to oppose his election. The first is a resident of a non-slaveholding State, the last of a slaveholding one. I understand, that the last did not receive at Harrisburg, the vote of a solitary delegate except from slaveholding States. Taking these circumstances into consideration, connected with Mr. Clay's great talents and long civil services, are they not sufficient to suggest, perhaps to justify the suspicion, that the Convention designed to make a bold appeal to the feelings and prejudices of the non-slaveholding States, rather than to their sober judgment? Are they not, in fact, told in very intelligible language, that Mr. Clay was rejected, to take the chance of uniting the one class of States against the other, and that by availing themselves of the opportunity, they will be enabled to get possession of the Government, and to direct its future policy? The very first open and decided effort to form a combination, founded upon the existence of slavery in some States and its absence in others, or upon any sectional feeling, by means of which power is to be permanently acquired and held by the particular States forming the combination, will be fatal to the prosperity of our country. It will, and must be resisted, and the inevitable collisions and animosities springing from the contest, will only be terminated by peaceable separation, or compulsory union.

I have defended myself, gentlemen, as briefly as I could, and I hope with becoming respect for those with whom I differ. You will, of course, do me the justice to publish this letter in the country Whig as soon as you can. Should you refuse to do so, I will thank you to send it to the Editor of the Enquirer for publication.

Your obedient servant,  
WM. P. TAYLOR.

#### THE POLITICAL ARNOLD—HIS DEPUTIES AND ALLIES.

I rejoice to see that the Federal Whig leaders are about publishing and circulating thousands of copies of Mr. Rives's late letter. I rejoice at it, because I confide in the strength of truth, and in the virtue and intelligence of our people. I cannot believe that all the devices of Wm. C. Rives, his deputies and sub-deputies, "deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked" as they are, can so far corrupt, contaminate, and revolutionize the character of our people, as that such a tissue of impostures as he has put forth, can escape the blasting rebuke of the community—as that such a very ARNOLD as he has proven himself to be, can escape the doom due to his perfidy.

Every man has a right—yea, is in duty bound to change his opinion and position, when convinced that he is wrong. But Mr. Rives bases his claims to the support of the People, upon no such grounds. He plays the impostor, garbles, quibbles, sophisticates—conceals the truth or only half tells it, even when he touches it. His new allies, who but the other day were his bitterest enemies and defamers, are constrained to pronounce his condemnation, whilst justifying themselves. To prove their own honesty and consistency, in allying with him, they must prove that he is dishonest and inconsistent. Both cannot be honest—and the world has egregiously mistaken the character of the people of Virginia, if they do not pronounce him, his deputies and allies, IMPOSTORS ALL!

Let the manifesto from Castle Hill go forth. Every intelligent and dispassionate reader will see the ever odious character of ARNOLD stamped upon its every page and paragraph. Those who have not the leisure or disposition to read it, may judge of its character and its author by the political character of those who circulate it and electioneer upon it. If Federalists praise it and rejoice over it, Republicans will smell its taint; tainted, thoroughly tainted it is with Ultra Federalism, under the hypocritical garb of Republican professions. And the Whig leaders and deputy leaders of the South who have hitherto acquired and retained the confidence of their honest followers by STATE RIGHTS professions, and who have kept the South in an uproar for the last seven years by their fiery denunciations of William C. Rives, his acts and professed principles, cut an awkward figure, methinks, in thrusting forward the same Mr. Rives as their leader, their teacher, their RECRUITING SERGEANT—in promulgating his authority as proof that William Henry Harrison is "the true Republican candidate"—a candidate who was nominated by known and avowed Federalists, who supported the ultra Federal principles and measures of the administration of Mr. John Q. Adams, and who is supported in turn by the members and the friends of that Administration everywhere—A candidate who points to the creed of Daniel Webster as his own, and who is supported by those who agree with him every where, is received and acknowledged by ultra State Rights leaders, as "the true Republican candidate," and that upon the naked assertion of Wm. C. Rives!!! State Rights voters of the South—is Harrison's, and Webster's, and Clay's, and Adams's creed, the sort of Republicanism which you have professed—when warring against old friends with whom you had always before acted—friends with whom you had agreed and still profess to agree in opposing every measure enlarging the scope of Federal Legislation—every measure transcending the limits of the written



Constitution, as strictly and honestly construed. Was it the creed of Harrison, which made you forget the distinguished services of Andrew Jackson, and join in a crusade against him and all who supported him, because of your disapproval of some of his acts and theories—the very acts and theories, and the only acts and theories of Andrew Jackson, which were warmly commended and cordially approved by William Henry Harrison, and that for the very reasons assigned by Daniel Webster. Pause, honest voter, and survey the rotten ground upon which your would-be leaders are striving to force you. They are calculating upon your ignorance, or hoping to keep you in such a fury, by their slanders and thundering anathemas against this Administration, as will render you blind to the light of truth, or dead to the duties which you owe to your country, yourself and your children. Unless they have already wrought you up to this state of utter desperation; you may see plainly the line of your duty, by looking to the state of parties throughout the Union, and looking to the real practical questions at issue before the country. Look at the principles and measures of Martin Van Buren—look at the principles and measures of his enemies.—See who and what they are who are opposing him in the North, and you will know how to estimate the professions of those who are opposing him in the South.—See who and what they are who are supporting him in the North, and you will find them to be those and those only who agree with us, or ever have agreed with us, in resisting the wild, extravagant, dangerous and corrupting schemes and systems of Hamilton, of the Adamases—of the whole tribe of Federalists, who have been striving from the foundation of the Government, to reduce the States and the people of the States, to a slavish state of dependence—federal power, and that in its most degrading form—in the form of an unholy and unconstitutional alliance between the Federal Government and the incorporated and associated monied interests of the country. Of the dangerous and corrupting powers of this unholy alliance, we have seen and felt enough, to warn us forever against its repetition. It has been broken up by the acts of the parties to it. M. Van Buren has nobly taken a stand against its renewal, and in favor of confining the Federal Government within the limits prescribed and assigned to, it by its founders, leaving the incorporated monied interests to the care of the State Governments, and to the people, to which, and to whom alone, they are, or rather, *ought to be*, responsible. The real issue, then, before the country, is, whether this alliance shall be renewed—and neither William C. Rives, nor all the other Arnolds in Christendom, can much longer blind any respectable portion of our people to the fact, that the real ground of the furious opposition to Martin Van Buren, is, that he stands in the way of those who seek to renew this unholy alliance, as the only means of carrying out their selfish and dangerous designs.

Honest reader! Let me call your attention to the following lines from Wm. C. Rives in 1834. Read his condemnation from his own lips. In a speech delivered by him at Charlottesville in 1834, after he had been driven from the Senate, by those who are now his friends and allies, he used the following language.—(See Richmond Enquirer, 25th March, 1834.)

"The great public question in which the part borne by me has called forth this kind and flattering expression from you in my behalf, is one of the most momentous character, which was ever submitted to the consideration of a free people, wisely jealous of their rights and liberties. It involves, in fact, the whole question of free government. The issue it presents is nothing less than this—Shall the people of these United States, in the true spirit of their institutions, govern themselves by their own agents freely chosen and responsible to them, animated with common sympathies and common interests, and amenable at all times to the control of public opinion; or, renouncing the precious inheritance conferred upon them by the valor and wisdom of their ancestors, tamely submit to be ruled and lorded over by a selfish and sordid aristocracy, in the form of a great monied corporation, without responsibility, without sympathy, without check of any sort, legal or moral. The Bank of the U. S. has abundantly shewn by its conduct, that, though nominally established for commercial purposes, its ruling passion (in conformity to the example of all great monied associations of which history has recorded the existence) is that of political dominion. To secure itself against opposition in pursuit of its schemes, it seeks to command the public councils, and by an influence both external and internal, to control and supercede the action of the Government."

In the same speech, he contends that the Executive is, by the Constitution and Laws, "entrusted with the collection, keeping and accountability of the public moneys," and denounces the opposite doctrines then advanced by his opponents, (now his friends,) as "novelties of the most striking character." "These novel and extraordinary doctrines (exclaimed Mr. Rives,) will be appreciated as they ought to be, by those whom it most concerns, and by those to whom it rightfully

belongs to appreciate them. The same enlightened and incorruptible tribunal, too, will not fail to see, that in the actual position of the great question they are now called on to decide, THERE CAN BE NO NEUTRALS. A vital issue is joined, between a daring and unconstitutional monied power struggling for supremacy on the one hand, and between the delegated and responsible government, of the people seeking to vindicate and maintain the powers which have been committed to it in trust, for the public good, on the other. IN SUCH A CONTEST, HE WHO BY EXAGGERATED AND UNFOUNDED CHARGES AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT, CONTRIBUTES TO DEPRIVE IT OF THE PUBLIC CONFIDENCE AND SUPPORT NECESSARY TO SUSTAIN IT IN SO MOMENTOUS A STRUGGLE, AS EFFECTUALLY AIDS THE BANKS AND SUBSERVES ITS TRIUMPH, AS THOUGH HE SHOULD COME FORTH OPENLY AS THE CHAMPION AND ADVOCATE OF THE BANK."

"Nor can the people of Virginia forget, (continued Mr. R.) that the firmness, moral courage and constitutional principles of the present Chief Magistrate, have formed the great dyke which has protected the great political doctrines so long cherished by her, from the swelling tide of Federal encroachment. Break down the dyke at the present moment, by causelessly and rashly undermining the foundation of popular confidence and affection on which it rests, and the united currents which are now setting in from so many different points, will sweep from the public Administration every vestige of the principles and doctrines of Virginia."

People of Virginia! you cannot be blind to the fact, that the same "vital issue" here spoken of by Mr. Rives, is still the great issue before the country. The Federalists see and know, and you cannot "forget, that the firmness, moral courage, and constitutional principles of the present Chief Magistrate, have formed the GREAT DYKE which has protected the great political doctrines which (you) have so long cherished, from the swelling tide of Federal encroachment." You all can see, that William C. Rives have joined those who are striving to break down this dyke—not by open, manly, and straight-forward assault—but that he has made his approaches *sneakily—under false colours—and is now plotting its downfall, by artfully, causelessly and deceitfully endeavoring "to undermine the foundation of popular confidence and affection on which it rests."* Will you join him in endeavoring to break down the dyke, so that the "united currents which are now setting in from so many different points, may sweep from the public Administration every vestige of the principles and doctrines of Virginia?"

#### A DEMOCRAT, And therefore for State Rights.

NOTE.—I beg leave to correct and explain an awkwardly written, and misprinted sentence, in my communication published in the Enquirer of the 10th. In speaking of Mr. Rives' proposed "League of Executive Banks," *also* "Pet. Banks," I intended to point out the unprincipled course of Mr. Leigh and his friends, who are now the friends and allies of Mr. Rives, as well as of Mr. Rives himself and his deputies. Be it remembered then, that Mr. Rives in 1834, did support the Pet Bank System, as preferable to a National Bank, as the best means of easing off from the National Bank, and of so reforming the currency and the bank system, as to enable the General Government to cut loose from all Banks, and come back to "the simple, solid, hard money system" contemplated by the framers of the Constitution. Mr. Rives pledged himself to bring forward and sustain this reform—and was zealous and eloquent in setting forth its great advantages.—But instead of proving true to his pledge, he has deserted and denounced the President for bringing forward this identical reform—and that too, when the Banks had forced the question upon the Administration. Mr. Rives still pretends to confide in his petted hobby, tho' it has twice fallen, and proven itself unsound, tricky, and unsafe. Mr. Leigh, and many of his friends, who in 1834 pronounced the Sub-Treasury to be "the only constitutional system," abandoned it, (if indeed, they ever did support it in good faith)—they abandoned it as soon as President Van Buren recommended it—and now mount up behind Mr. Rives, upon his broken-down hobby, which even when it was going on well, Mr. Leigh pronounced to be "more unconstitutional, and far more pernicious," than an unconstitutional National Bank! IMPOSTORS ALL, I repeat, will be the verdict of the people, against the whole fraternity of Whig leaders and sub-leaders. A great FIFTY or SEVENTY MILLION BANK, is their real hobby—and the real question which the people have to decide, is, whether they will "break down the Dyke," and let in such a "Monster," with its kindred brood, the illegitimate products of rape after "rape, to be committed upon the Constitution."

A DEMOCRAT, &c.

"The Whigs have been trading upon Fictitious Capital, and have broke."  
THE GREAT WHIG HUMBLED ABOUT A STANDING ARMY, EXPLODED.

Ever since the appearance of Mr. Rives' letter avowing his determination to sustain General Harrison for the Presidency, the whole land has been ringing with the cry of "STANDING ARMY." Whig Orators, and Whig Electioneers, have been traversing the country in all directions, calling upon the people to oppose the re-election of Mr. Van Buren. The recommendation of the President, and the Secretary of War, urging upon Congress the re-organization of the Militia, has been declared to be most monstrous—a gross attack upon the liberty of the people. They aver most solemnly that nothing like it ever was heard of in the history of this nation from the foundation of the government, to the present time—and that it is an attempt on the part of the President "to perpetuate his power." So obnoxious to some of our Whig friends is the recommendation of the Secretary of War, that they declare, they will support no man, who has ever recom-

mended such a measure—no, not even the illustrious father of his country—the great and good Washington "if he were to rise from the dead!"

What will the people say—especially the Whigs, when we show that GEO. WASHINGTON himself did recommend such a measure—and that the wisest and best men who have succeeded him in the Presidential Chair approved that recommendation, and urged upon Congress its adoption? And above all, what a shock will it prove to their delicate nerves, when we inform them that [ ] GEN. WM. HENRY HARRISON, [ ] as Chairman of the Committee of Military Affairs in the Congress of the U. S., did, on the 17th day of January, 1817, recommend substantially the same measure which has latterly called down such bitter denunciation upon the heads of the President and his Secretary of War. We here call attention to a few brief extracts:

"Mr. Harrison made the following report:

The Committee of the House of Representatives, to whom was referred so much of the President's message as relates to the re-organization and classification of the militia, and the report of the acting Secretary of War, of the 13th ultimo, report herewith a bill for that purpose.

The organization of regiments, brigades and divisions, has been adopted by the committee in opposition to very high authority, because it is one which has heretofore been used in all the States, and because it appeared better suited to the tactics of the present day, than the more complex system of the legion recommended by General Knox in his report of 1790.

The mode of classification contained in the bill has been frequently recommended in the reports of committees of the House, and in those of the Department of War. The effects of this plan will be felt only when the militia are called into the service of the U. States, and will not affect the constitution of the corps as it now exists, for the ordinary duties of muster discipline. The advantages of a system that will bring into the corps, for the duties of the field, men of the same age and vigor, and throw the burden of military duty upon that class of citizens who would be enabled to perform it with fewer personal sacrifices, were the motives of its adoption.

The junior or middle class will be composed of men who have small families, or those who have none, who are in the full enjoyment of bodily strength and activity, and whose minds will be more easily excited to military ardor and the love of glory, than those of a more advanced period of life.

The solicitude which has been manifested by the great men, who have successively filled the office of Chief Magistrate of the U. S., for the adoption of a system of military discipline for the militia, which would produce the effect contemplated by the first proposition, sufficiently manifests their sense of its importance.—The subject was often and warmly recommended by the father of his country; and, at an early period of his administration, a plan for the purpose was proposed by the Secretary of War; and, being corrected agreeably to his suggestions, was submitted to the National Legislature. It is believed that objections to the expense and supposed difficulty of executing this plan, and not to its object, was the cause of its being rejected. In the opinion which prevailed at that period, that an energetic national militia was to be regarded as the capital security of a free republic, less apparent at the present?

But the defence of our country against a foreign enemy does not constitute the only (perhaps not the chief) motive of military improvements to the extent contemplated by the proposition we are considering. The safety of a Republic depends as much upon the equality of rights. Nothing can be more dangerous in such a Government, than to have a knowledge of the military art confined to a part of the people; for, sooner or later that part will govern.

As in every age, then, and in every country, the same causes will produce the same effects, the palladium of American liberty must be the diffusion of military discipline and a military spirit through the whole body of the people.

But secondly, is the object attainable?—That it is not attainable by any of the systems which have heretofore been in use in the United States is very evident from the little success which has attended them. The late war repeatedly exhibited the melancholy fact, of large corps of militia going to the field of battle without understanding a single elementary principle, and without being able to perform a single evolution. Yet militia laws exist and have existed in all the States since the war of the Revolution, which set apart, with great precision, a number of days in each year for the purpose of training and discipline. But from this plan no good fruit has ever been produced. It was an error, indeed, common to call the militia systems in use in the United States, that the periods for training were too short and too distant from each other to produce much benefit.

\*See American State papers.—Military Affairs, vol. 1st, pages 663, 664, 665, 666.

†We have not published these Reports entire, because we had not room. If, however, any of our Whig friends desire a full publication it shall be done.





As the important advantages of the military part of the education of youth will accrue to the community, and not to the individuals who acquire it, it is proper that the whole expense of the establishment should be borne by the public treasury.

That, to comport with the equality which is the basis of our Constitution, the organization of the establishment should be such as to extend, without exception, to every individual of the proper age.

That, to secure this, the contemplated military instruction should be given in distant schools established for that purpose, but that it should form a branch of education in every school in the U. S.

That a corps of military institutions should be formed to attend to the gymnastic and elementary part of education in every school in the UNITED STATES, whilst the more scientific part of the art of war shall be communicated by professors of the tactics, to be established in all the higher seminaries.

The committee are fully aware that the establishment of an institution, which, from its nature, is calculated to produce an important change in the manners and habits of the nation, will be received with caution and distrust by a people jealous of their liberties, and who boast of a Government which executes its powers with the least possible sacrifice of individual rights. An encroachment upon individual rights forms no part of their system. It is not a conscription, which withdraws from an anxious parent a son, for whose morals he fears more than for his life. It is not a Persian or Turkish mandate to educate the youth within the purlieus of a corrupt court; but a system as purely republican in practice as in principle.

These are extracts from this Report, and any man who will read them will have no difficulty in discovering that the recommendation of Mr. Poinsett is precisely the same in all essential particulars, (with the exception of that monstrous proposition of Gen. H. to extend the power of the General Government into all the higher seminaries, and indeed into every school of the U. S.—as extensive almost as covering the land of Egypt with frogs, penetrating every oven and kneading trough!)—The militia are to be classified by this Report—they are to be classified by Mr. Poinsett's Report—they are to be paid by this Report—they are to be paid by Mr. Poinsett's Report. We call particular attention to the estimate with which the Report closes:

*Estimates of the expenses of training the officers and sergeants of the militia of the U. S. These estimates are made on a supposed number of one hundred thousand men, divided equally, as nearly as may be, into 25 brigades.*

1. Estimate upon the supposition that the officers and sergeants receive full pay without rations, or an allowance for rations or forage, except to the sergeants for whom rations might be necessary. (That is to say, you pay all the officers and all the sergeants, but not a cent to the private, to whom the pay may be of more consequence, than even to the privileged officer—although the private, that is to say, the mass of the People called out, makes the same sacrifice of his precious time and labor! Here is equality for you, with a vengeance.)

Each brigade containing, according to estimate, four thousand men, will be composed of four regiments or forty companies.

There would then be the following field and staff officers who should attend the training:

1 Brigadier, full pay, \$104	\$104 00
1 Brigade inspector, with the pay of Major	50 00
4 Colonels, at \$75,	300 00
4 Lieutenant-colonels, at \$60,	240 00
4 Majors, at \$50,	200 00
40 Captains, at \$40,	1,600 00
40 Lieutenants, at \$30,	1,200 00
40 2d Lieutenants, at \$25,	1,000 00
160 Sergeants, at \$5 pay, and \$6 for rations,	2,240 00

Amount of expenses of one brigade, \$6,994 00  
The adjutant to be taken from the line.

Brigades, 25  
Expenses of training officers for one month, at full pay, of twenty-five brigades, or one hundred men, \$173,850 00

And, estimating the whole U. States militia at a million, then the total expense of training the officers of the militia would be some hundred thousand dollars less than two millions.

The following estimate is made on the supposition of the officers receiving only half pay. The estimate proceeds, however, upon a supposition that no officer is to receive less than thirty dollars per month, and the sergeants full pay and rations.

2. Estimate for one hundred thousand men.	
1 Brigadier, half pay,	\$552 00
1 Brigade inspector,	30 00
4 Colonels, half pay,	150 00
4 Lieutenant-colonels half pay,	120 00
4 Majors, \$30,	120 00
120 Captains and Lieutenant, at \$30,	3,600 00
160 Sergeants, pay and rations,	2,240 00

For officers of one brigade, \$6,312 00

For 25 brigades, \$157,800 00

And for 1,000,000 \$1,578,000 00

At thirty dollars per month, except sergeants, leaving them on full pay and rations, then the amount would be varied, as will appear by the third estimate, viz:

134 officers, in a brigade of 4,000 men, at \$30, \$4,020 00  
160 sergeants, on full pay and rations, 2,240 00

One brigade, \$6,260 00

For 100,000, making 25 brigades, \$156,500 00

And for 1,000,000, \$1,565,000 00

On the 9th day of January, 1818, as Chairman of the same Committee he submitted another Report on the same subject: (See Military Affairs, vol. 1st page 675.) The following are extracts.

Mr. Harrison made the following report: "The committee to whom was referred so much of the Message of the President, as relates to the Militia, have had that subject under consideration, and beg leave to report:

"That the Constitution grants to Congress the following powers in relation to the militia, to wit: To provide for organizing the militia; for arming them, for disciplining them, for calling them into the service of the U. States, and for compensating them for their services; which powers the committee have considered separately.

"1. The committee are of opinion that in organizing the militia, it would be a great improvement to divide them into two classes, with a view to train diligently, and to provide to arm immediately, the young men, and exempt the elderly men from that sacrifice of time which effective training would require; the organization of the militia might remain in all other respects nearly as heretofore established.

"4. The committee are of the opinion, that the regulations for calling forth the militia may remain substantially as at present existing: That the President should in all cases, address his orders immediately to some officer of the militia, and not to the EXECUTIVE of any State. The GOVERNOR of a State, is NOT a militia officer, BOUND to execute the ORDERS of the President; he cannot be tried for disobedience of orders, and punished by the sentence of a court martial."

What think you of this, ye genuine Whigs? What think you of the President addressing his orders immediately to the Militia Officers, instead of the Executives of the States? And what think you of the reason assigned for the change, viz: that the Governor of a State cannot be tried, and a militia officer can be tried for disobedience to orders? Well this is awful! The Whig candidate has put his followers in a most delectable fix truly!

But Gen. Harrison was not satisfied with two reports. On the 22d day of January, 1819, he made another report, in which his report of 1817 is extracted at length, and the estimate above given is again appended thereto. This report will be found in the same volume, page 224, and it is accompanied by a long plan which was submitted to Congress by H. Knox, Secretary of War under General Washington, and which bears date January 18th, 1790. Why General Washington must have wished to perpetuate his power too, or he would not have allowed his Secretary of War to recommend a "re-organization" of the Militia?

Well, it seems that three times this thing which is now called "a standing Army" was recommended by General Harrison! Whose power was to be perpetuated then? Who then demanded this great Military power, which now strikes such dread and alarm to the heart of Whiggery? James Madison was then at the head of Affairs—he was President when this Report of 1817 was made, and when the reports of 1818 and 1819 were made Mr. Monroe occupied that high station.—They were all made in a time of profound peace. If it were right then—is it wrong now, when we have a difficulty about boundary which may yet lead to War?

In the years 1836 and 1837, the then Secretaries made the same recommendations about the Militia, and in the year 1838, on the 11th day of May, Mr. Wagener, Chairman of the Militia, made a report, accompanied by a bill. That bill contains 16 sections, and provides that the Militia shall be classified and trained, and that the expense shall be borne by Congress. (See Reports of Committees 25th Congress, 2d Session, Rep. No. 875.)

Where was the lynx-eyed vigilance of the Whigs then? Why was not the cry of a standing army then raised? The answer is easy—no object was to be gained by such a cry at that time. It was about that time that a Whig paper in Philadelphia recommended to the Whig party to disband their forces.

In conclusion, we suggested to the great head of the Webb Whig party, W. C. Rives, and his followers, that there are "more things in Heaven and Earth, than

are dreamt of in his Philosophy." We would suggest to him and them, the propriety of looking into the acts and doings of past Congresses before they undertake to say that Mr. Van Buren has trampled the Constitution of the land under his feet, in the recommendation of measures which have never been heard of since "the days of Cromwell."—*Valley Star*.

RICHMOND, Va., SATURDAY, MARCH 28.

"A wise and frugal Government which shall restrain men from injuring one another; shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement; and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government.—MR. JEFFERSON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

#### A CARD.

To the Chairmen of the Republican Committees of the State of Virginia.

The Committee, appointed by the Democratic Republican Convention, for the purpose of establishing in this City, a cheap weekly paper, to promote the views and interests of the Republican party and the re-election of Martin Van Buren to the Presidency of the United States—most respectfully calls on each, and every one of you, to aid in the prosecution of the work we have so successfully commenced. The ball is rolling, and the "CRISIS" is at hand, when every Republican voter will be expected to be at his post.—The great interests of the country demand it at his hands. We, too, would speak to the "Yeomanry." The misrepresentations of the Whig presses, and the slangwhanging travelling orators, must be counteracted. The people need only to be properly enlightened on the great political questions before the country, to make up a proper verdict. It is important to the interests of the Democratic Party, that the "CRISIS" should be in the hands of every voter; and this can only be effected, by the untiring vigilance and industry of the Corresponding Committees. It will be forwaded for general distribution, in every county throughout the State.—We must meet our opponents at every point.—We have truth and justice on our side, and when properly understood, our cause must prevail, before the people. Their travelling Orators must be met, and refuted, as they have already been triumphantly defeated, and all their arguments blown "sky high," at least, by *One of the People*. We again call on all our friends to be on the alert, and meet them in debate.—If every Republican will do his duty, the day must be ours—"Eternal Vigilance, is the price of Liberty." We therefore appeal to you, in the name of the Republican party, to aid us in prosecuting the work we have begun, to a prosperous termination, and we shall realize a most glorious victory over our opponents.

JAMES BOSHER, Chairman.

D. TRUEHEART,

S. D. DENOON,

W. D. WREN,

JNO. COSBY,

T. B. BIGGER,

N. DENBY,

JNO. F. WREN,

JOSEPH ALLEN,

JOHN WOMBLE,

H. N. TEMPLEMAN.

☐ All communications and subscriptions (post-paid) for the Crisis, must be addressed to the Editor of the Enquirer, or to the Chairman, or any member of the Committee, and they will be promptly attended to.

☐ The Subscriptions must be paid in advance, or else the papers cannot be forwarded.

☐ The 6,000 Copies of the 1st No. are nearly exhausted—and none can be obtained, beyond a few days. But some of the subsequent Nos. are still on hand; and will be forwarded to new subscribers. The Committee and the Editors now positively have determined to carry on the Crisis to the end of the Presidential campaign—and 29 or 30 Nos. may thus be obtained at the low price of \$1—making each No. come at 3¢ cents!

#### FOR THE CRISIS.

WILLIAM C. RIVES.

Mr. Rives left Richmond a few days since, after a short stay among us. He was, as a matter of course, much caressed by the Federalists: but we must confess that his characteristic elegance, though preserved in the main, was quite subdued and humble. In spite of all the artifices which deep native cunning and long practice, both at home and abroad, had brought to such perfection, he could not help showing to both parties the wretched misery of his position. Few men have been more hated by the Whigs and Federalists, or more abused by them; few have stood higher in the Republican ranks. While his old friends looked upon him with disgust and loathing, his new Allies, (for they are not his friends,) looked upon him with admiration and pity. They could but admire him for the talents and adroitness he had shown as the supporter of Jackson and Van Buren; for the fervor of his party zeal; for his good manners and abstemious habits; and last, not least, they admired him for the dexterity with which he had come over to the Whig ranks, stealing along behind him a band of confiding and deceived Conservatives.



But they pity him from a conscious sense of his wretched and fallen condition. Fallen and wretched, indeed it is! Altho' the least spice of Modern Whiggery makes men unreasonable, rampant and furious; yet all Whigs are not bereft of the milk of human kindness. And how could they help pitying Wm. C. Rives? He had rashly undone himself in a moment of pique and resentment! He had paltered with his late friends in a double sense for nearly three years; and, finally, when it was known he could not be Senator, he doffs the mask, and stands forth the very thing he had so long tried to make the world believe he was not—A Whig! Unhappy man indeed he must be! Who does not pity him?

If, when the Baltimore Convention refused to give him the nomination of Vice President, he had, after decent doubts, marched up to the Whig altar, and given in his confession and joined their church, his claim to eldership might have been less doubtful. Who does not pity an erring man, with sense enough to do better? And why should not the Whigs pity this new convert to their faith? He has indeed gone through so much travail and trouble in his conversion, that if its sincerity be not doubted by the Whig Church, all mankind must pity him for his sufferings, as well as for his metamorphosis.

#### DIVULGERS OF FALSE NEWS.

Mister Senator Faulkner!—During a recent visit by this unassuming gentleman amongst his Federal friends in old Federal Berkeley, he is represented as having declared, "That there is but one opinion, and without exception, amongst discreet and temperate men of all parties at Richmond, Washington and elsewhere, that the contest" (that is the Presidential election,) "is already decided" in favor of Harrison. We venture to declare our sincere conviction, that an opinion, such as the noble Senator is said to have reported, has never been expressed by one, no not one, discreet and temperate man of the Democratic party, either at Richmond, Washington or elsewhere! We have heard, that some ridiculous extravagance of the like purport was thrown out by a crazy, ranting declaimer in the late Whig Convention, and that it was eagerly buzzed about as something oracular, by the little insects which flitted round the GREAT WESTERN whilst eating and wassailing for the party (himself not least or last included) in Richmond; but that any thing of the kind has been conceded by an intelligent, discreet Democrat, no man in his senses will for one moment credit. We challenge the august gentleman to name the single instance, of such an admission as is said to have been reported by him, on the part of a discreet and temperate Democratic Republican, or we call upon him to disclaim the declaration ascribed to him; and if he will do neither, we appeal to an honest and indignant community to mark this characteristic sample of Whig candor and fairness. We know, that the Democracy are strong and fervent in their belief of the triumph of their cause; a belief, founded in all the better feelings and principles of human nature; for, their's is the cause of liberty, justice, equality; of moral and political union—of the union, the peace and happiness of the country; contrasted with upstart aristocratic pretension; with unjust and oppressive monopolies and privileges, designed for the bloated and pampered few at the cost of the injured many; with reckless and desperate adventurers for power, even at the price of disunion and civil war, and with all the abominations inseparable from social and political abuses, like those just mentioned. 'Tis a scandal to an intelligent and moral people, to suppose the ascendancy of a party, made up like that of the modern Whigs, of deserters from almost all quarters and of inveterate federalists; exhibiting to the revolted sense of the virtuous and conscientious, the first example of a combination, shameless enough to proclaim their eager determination for the acquisition of power, to be the only bond or principle that unites them. For, the world has been scandalously told by the notorious organ of this party, "That every man opposed to the persons in power was a Whig." It matters not then, it would seem, what may be his principles, political or moral, or whether he possesses either: provided he will co-operate in an endeavour to pull down the Administration and to seize upon their places, he evinces the only attribute requisite to make him a Whig, and to insure immediate fraternization. The friends of liberty, of justice and of regulated government, will naturally ask; what principles or maxims of polity are to prevail under the sway of a party thus composed; thus loose and reckless in character, or where they should look for safety for all that is deemed most sacred in civil government, and especially in our own cautiously adjusted system?

Upon these interesting subjects of enquiry, the motley Whigs will give no specific declarations nor pledges. Constituted as they are, embracing every contrariety of opinion, they cannot do it; and yet they are weak enough to imagine, that they will elude the discriminating judgment of the people, founded upon this very absence of frankness and integrity. Their silly calculations of success are based upon intemperate expressions of animosity towards the Democratic Re-

publicans, and upon a noisy outcry about the reformation of abuses.

But it will again be enquired, what are, or what can be considered abuses in the view of a combination, whose opinions and practices exhibit every extreme and gradation of abuse, most odious to the friends of popular rights? What are abuses, according to the followers of Daniel Webster; of a leader at one time the powerful opponent, and at another the zealous advocate of a high protective Tariff—once the enemy and afterwards the supporter and the retainer of an unconstitutional, corrupt and insolent Federal Bank? and worse than all these, the promulgator and champion of the execrable heresy, which denies to the sovereign States of this Union any rights, or any political existence, except what may have been conceded to them as parties to the Federal compact?—What are abuses in the estimation of W. H. Harrison, whose political life began with his support of the authors of the Alien and Sedition laws; of direct taxes for the maintenance of a standing army, not to be employed for the protection of helpless settlers of the wilderness from savage torture and conflagration; nor for the occupation of frontier forts and garrisons, but to be stationed as an engine of intimidation and tyranny in the interior of our country, in a season of peace?—whose recent creed has been proclaimed by himself, in holding forth the ultra-Federal Webster as the true, the standard expositor of the Constitution; in deducing from that Constitution the tremendous power in Congress of abrogating our domestic institutions; of taxing us for the emancipation of our own slaves; and in a declaration of his readiness to burthen his NATIVE VIRGINIA, with a Tariff to the point of depopulating her Towns, and of covering with grass their untrodden streets?—What are abuses in the view of the jovial Harry Clay—of him whose carousals it is boasted by his worshippers and toadsters, (hear it every one who feels pride in the character of the Old Dominion!) are to become honorable Epochs in the history of our country? It might be presumed upon looking back to the Kentucky Resolutions of 1822—to the compromise which suddenly brought together the political antipodes, and installed both Clay and Adams in the same Executive body—to all the fantastic follies which ensued that memorable conjunction; the Panama mission; the renowned American system, or scheme of unequal taxation to minister to boundless Executive patronage and corruption, for instance—to the wild inconsistency of condemning upon principle and policy a National Bank; and of subsequently justifying not merely the creation of such a bank, but every wanton excess committed by that once mighty but now prostrate corporation, in its season of pride and power—to the recent attempt in the Senate to suppress the freedom and expression of opinion amongst inferior officers of the Federal Government—it might, we say, be presumed upon a recurrence to these historical reminiscences, (exclusive of others, too numerous far for recapitulation here,) that the idea of abuses in Government was scarcely reconcilable with the latitudinous, or fast and loose expedients of this convivial politician. Yet, who so clamorous about abuses as this chief promoter of every abuse, and his servile followers? Happily for our country, it has ever been a ruling delusion of Federalism under all its borrowed names, to have no faith either in the sagacity, the impartiality or discretion of the People. It cannot, therefore, believe them capable of appreciating the wisdom and virtue of the President; his scrupulous devotion to his duties as prescribed by the Constitution, his patriotic and fearless impartiality for the rights of every portion of his country—his dignified forbearance and unvarying urbanity of deportment: nor can it think the common people capable of contrasting these high qualities, with that easy political virtue, which resolves all public duties and obligations into a scramble for the acquisition and enjoyment, or rather the abuse of office; or with the practice (equally degrading to character and station) of traversing the country in quest of opportunities to pour forth amidst the excitements of wine and party virulence, strains of disgusting egotism, and of gross vituperation of those whose merits and successes have rendered them objects of envy and hatred. For the sake of our country, we have to wish with regard to this Federal delusion, that it may never end!

#### The Whig Governor's Letter of Acceptance. Thomas Le Desiré!

"I shall be happy if an energetic application to the practical, permanent interests of the whole Commonwealth, and a filial reverence for its ancient fame, can render me in any respect worthy of a station, which no man is at liberty either to seek or to decline."

In the sentence just quoted, may be seen a display of an excessive modesty and sincerity, as consummate as any that can be found amongst the daily and almost numberless examples of Whig presumption and vain-glorious boasting. Correctly interpreted—"I, Thomas W. Gilmer, have never sought, and under no possible circumstances could be induced to seek, the office of Chief Magistrate. My peculiar qualifications, pre-eminent as they unquestionably are above those of every other,

have centred upon me the attention and the wishes of the State: I have, therefore, been constrained by these high incentives, to take upon myself the advancement of her interests, and the preservation of her ancient fame!" This gasconade is the more preposterous, in the view of those who have witnessed the manœuvring; the misrepresentation and illiberality towards a distinguished competitor, put in practice to accomplish the election of Thomas W. Gilmer; who doubtless, possessed the power of disclaiming such unworthy means, and of preventing a resort to them in order to force upon him an office he did not seek. Oh! not he indeed! The ridicule of this great ingenuousness and modesty greatly heightened by a recollection of the facts, that the office of Governor was not bestowed upon this gentleman by the voice of the State, but by the desertion of such eminent and honest statesmen as Barrett G. Payne, William Lockridge, Edmund Fontaine, and John T. Anderson. It is supposed that even the vanity of Thomas W. Gilmer, can hardly suppress his conviction, we had almost said his confession, that so far from his having received the place of Governor by the voice, or in accordance with the wishes of the People, he would in an open canvass before them, with one so incalculably his superior as James McDowell, have been beaten by probably more than seven thousand votes.

#### OURSELVES.

We feel it a duty to thank the generous Democracy of the Country, for their increasing countenance and support. We repeat, that our little sheet prospers, and is likely to prosper beyond expectation.

As we are to have only a short life, we wish to be fully understood.

The Crisis is only the Ally of the Enquirer, and will quit the field the moment the battle is won. It is printed at, and circulated from, the Enquirer Office; and being edited by an association of Republicans, is independent both of the Enquirer and its editor. We avail ourselves of the editorial articles in his paper when they suit, and he lends his assistance in other respects. We are not mercenaries, and if, contrary to expectation, any profit result from our labors, it goes to the Enquirer Office, where all the trouble is encountered. We look for neither profit nor promotion; and herein differ from the Editor of the little Whig "Yeoman." He is said to have been rather unceremoniously jostled out of the concern of the Richmond Whig; and by way of satisfaction, is determined very soon to set up the Yeoman as a rival paper to "The Whig"—enlarged and improved, of course. To this we have nothing to say.—We only mention the thing to assure our numerous friends, that we have no aspirations of the sort. We shall give every subscriber the full worth of his money; and when the hungry Goths are vanquished, we shall be content to let the old Enquirer stand alone on the watch tower.

#### THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.

Ours is the only State, which does not require residence as a qualification of the right of suffrage.

It is a great omission in the Constitution of Virginia, that every man was not prohibited from voting more than once in elections. It was hoped that the extension of the Right of Suffrage would diminish the influence of the Aristocracy. But, it has had the contrary effect; and if the practices of the present day be continued, the Farmers and Planters of the Country will demand a change. What do we see in all the counties within striking distance of the towns? We appeal to the honest Farmers of these Counties to say, if they are not constantly borne down and overpowered by the town voters! We know something of the outrageous efforts of Richmond, and we understand, that other towns have emulated her example in proportion to their population and means. Numerous freeholds of poor worthless lands have been bought up, and in some instances only transferred to citizens for mere party purposes in controlling the county elections. Is this right? Is it consistent with the free principles of Republicanism? Does it comport with just ideas of liberty?

Look at the unfortunate town-riden County of Henrico! More than two-thirds of her Citizens are Republicans, and yet Richmond elects her member of the Legislature by a large majority. The same men too, vote in the City, and many of them have boasted of voting also on the same day in Hanover, Henrico and Chesterfield. We have known a man to brag of having voted in Buckingham, Cumberland, Powhatan, Chesterfield, Henrico, and the City of Richmond—and all in one day! He was of course afterwards esteemed as a Whig of the first water—regarded as a man of business and without any other qualification, was forthwith inducted into "good society" in this our good City of "distinction." His business prospered, &c., but resulted in bankruptcy.

Last spring an individual, who had but recently emerged to prosperity, galloped over the City, offering seventy horses to the "trained band" voters of the City, to convey them to the polls of counties where Whig votes were needed—Saddle horses, hacks, omnibusses, carryalls, gigs and sulkeys, were all in readiness and all "free gratis." The railroad com-



panies also entered into the spirit of the contest and ran extra trains. It is said they too worked free gratis—but of the fact we speak not positively. Col. Corbin, of Caroline, was to be sustained, and he was sustained by the wonderful efforts of Richmond and Fredericksburg.—Col. White, of Hanover, was to be beaten; but the brave Democracy of that good old County, scorned the dictation of Richmond, and defeated the City Cohorts. Senator Nash was to be turned out in the Chesterfield district. Francis E. Rives and Linn Banks were to be turned out of Congress. Major Michaux was to be defeated in Powhatan—but the people stood up for their own rights and sustained all these true Democrats.—But the town carried Hunter for Congress and Thornton for the State Senate. The effort was prodigious on their parts. We expect, that this spring they will attempt even more. Having “all the talent and all the wealth,” we might fear the conquest of the Democracy, if we knew less of its stern patriotism.

In every County where there is division of sentiment among the people, the *towns* interpose their kind protection, and strain every nerve to carry Whiggery through. Do not the people see this thing clearly, and how long will they submit to it?

We might go into a great many specific cases of similar abuses and similar presumption and intermeddling—and may hereafter be induced to lay before the Country, details which cannot fail to rouse the indignation of every reader.

We ask our friends to send us the number of extra town votes in the different Counties. Such a table will be instructive, and will shew the influence of bank men and silk stocking gentry.

Free principles are always safe in the hands of the cultivators of the soil. But they wither in the keeping of the proud, the luxurious and the aristocratic. This is the voice of all history. Let us beware of the dangers that thicken around us. Let us repel the arrogance of wealth, either real or artificial—either in its single or its associated form, and spurn those, who use it on purpose to corrupt the spirit of our free institutions.

#### WHO ARE WHIGS?

Reader, look all around you among your acquaintances, call them up in your mind, and you will find that nine-tenths of the non-producers—those who get their living by their wits, are *Whigs*. Call to mind all you know who are Lawyers, Doctors, Merchants, Traders, Speculators, Stockjobbers, Shavers, or Rich Grandees, who live upon the interest of money, whether gained by their own, or their father's wits.—How many of all these classes are *Whigs*? We beg you to lay down our paper, and think a little while on this subject.

Well, what say you? You have found but few Republicans amongst all these wit-living classes! Now and then you have found a Democrat among some of them. But how different is he from the rest! He pays his debts honestly—he is fair, candid and above-board in all his dealings—he is liberal in his sentiments, never disposed to *proscribe* men because they differ with him in opinion. He is, in short, a *good man*. He does not set his heart upon money, false show and parade. With these good qualities, he cannot help pitying the *Whig party*, for arrogantly claiming to themselves “all the decency, all the wealth, and all the talents” of the country.

If you see a man cutting a dash with fine clothes and glittering equipage and heavy expenditures, a hundred to one, he is a *Whig*. But, whether he is spending his own money or not, no man can tell while there are so many *Whig banks* in the country!

If you see a man commence business without capital: depend upon it, he is a *Whig*, and an advocate for Banks and floods of paper money; for, the credit system and paper money can alone put him on an equality with a man of substantial capital. If he be sharp-sighted and lucky, or if a swindler, he makes a fortune out of the more virtuous and worthy part of the community. But if he *fail* and be reduced to his original nothingness, he will have lived in “good society” at the fountain of all good things, and peradventure have secured to his wife or somebody else, a comfortable store for future support. How many broken men are known to live better than their industrious and independent neighbors! and all this at the expense of the industrious—the producing classes of society! The husbandmen and mechanics support the rest of mankind; and it is not strange, that they permit themselves to be governed and rode over by their servants, agents and factors. It is high time that the body of the people should wake up to a just sense of their rights, and govern themselves. They should spurn the officious meddling in elections of the classes we have mentioned.

**Mecklenburg.**—We understand that the Whigs of this County are making a desperate effort to turn out Mr. Wm. O. Goode. This is “a consummation devoutly to be wished” by the whole *Whig party*. But we are satisfied that they will be disappointed in their expectations. Mr. Goode has always belonged to the Republican party in principle, and though, on some questions he acted with the *Whig party*, he has abandoned

them entirely. The Republicans of Mecklenburg will, surely, never permit him to fall a sacrifice to *Whig vengeance*, but will rally around, and, to a man, sustain him. He is independent, useful and talented; and, as he is now so cordially with the Democracy of the Country, we believe that our friends in every part of the State will be highly pleased at his re-election.

#### Mr. G. W. Hopkins's Letter.

We have received a pamphlet copy of the Letter, which G. W. Hopkins, Esq., a member of the House of Representatives from the Russell District, has addressed to Col. James H. Pope of Wythe county. It bears date on the 16th inst. and covers 47 pages. We are extremely anxious to lay the whole of this well-written letter at once before our readers—but its extreme length compels us to postpone its publication till our next paper. This paper will bear some comparison with Mr. Wm. P. Taylor's letter in our last. No small praise for that letter has extorted the unqualified admiration of all whom we have heard speak of it. Mr. H.'s letter is as well as eloquently written. He declares his positive determination to vote for Mr. Van Buren, and to oppose Gen. Harrison. He analyzes the merits of both, compares their respective pretensions—and whilst he denies the claims of Gen. Harrison, even in his military capacity; whilst he exposes his Federal principles and unconstitutional measures, he vindicates the character and the principles of Mr. Van Buren. But the most remarkable part of the letter is that in which he speaks of the “Veiled Prophet.” It is well known, that Mr. Hopkins was a Conservative; that he was opposed to the Sub-Treasury; and that Mr. Rives, as he frankly confesses, had “gained (his) confidence and admiration.” He now abandons him. He says, “This distinguished favorite of fortune was reared in an atmosphere fragrant with the glory of Jefferson. And social proximity to that apostle of liberty enabled Mr. Rives to feed the taper of his aspiring mind with the redundant and wholesome light of Monticello. The lustre reflected upon him from an orb so brilliant and pure presaged his future course, and made him conspicuous to the advocates of freedom. In his own native Virginia—a State not barren in wisdom and worth—no man of the age has been more freely honored with political preferment and applause. His seat in the House of Delegates was quickly abandoned for a more distinguished one in the House of Representatives. A mission abroad, and Senatorial honors at home, came thickening on him from the spontaneous generosity of his triumphant party. Stimulated by the ties of gratitude and the convictions of a considerate mind, he not only contributed to overthrow the administration of John Q. Adams, but advocated, with ability and zeal, the leading measures which brought down upon President Jackson the rancorous hatred of the Whigs. The memorable Expunge, intended, as was alleged by the Whigs, to fix upon them that burning shame they had offered to the laurels of the President, was assisted through the Senate by the parliamentary abilities of Mr. Rives. The Whiggish denunciation against him, which, before, had been continual and bitter, was as the cheering voice of praise, when compared to the ferocity of its character then. Language is incompetent to describe it. No violated confidence—no betrayal of trust—no measure of ingratitude to the cordial friends who reared the fortunes of Mr. Rives, could provoke from the Democratic party the remorseless fury then manifested towards him by the Whigs.

“Since then, the flushed and elevated Whigs, backed and encouraged by the mighty contrivances of incorporated wealth, have re-united and embodied their hitherto discordant forces, and now constantly proclaim their ability and determination to crush the President and the Democratic party. To pamper this vain exultation, the Conservative leaders have made their appearance, and drawn their weapons in the ranks of the opposition. They professed to have mustered troops in defence of great constitutional principles; and for a season stacked their arms upon neutral ground, and coldly eyed the battle field. But the leader of the Northern Conservatives, to secure a sway in his native land, soon went over to the enemy in bold and free defiance; and now, in the national Senate, wages a fierce, unnatural, relentless war, upon the political party with which he so lately and so cordially co-operated.

“The commander of the Virginia Conservatives, more cool and wary, calculated with circumspect mind the hazards of the enterprise, and felt and measured the ground on which he has determined to move. But he, too, has lately doffed his neutrality—left his former generous and confiding friends—and crossed the Rubicon of party strife.

“The exulting enemy applauded the act, received him with delight, and freely forgave his previous sins. Nay, in the overflowings of ecstatic joy, they have labored with the most persevering assiduity to return him to the national Senate, where he plunged a dagger in their precious fame; and whose records, they assert, he had mutilated and defiled with the most cold, selfish, calculating, and deliberate baseness.

“For this sudden, extraordinary support of Mr. Rives, the great organ of the *Whig party* in Virginia had no

justifiable pretext, that I am aware of. The editor of the *Whig*, and the leader of the Conservatives, did not agree, even on the great financial question of the day. For, while Mr. Rives considered and denounced that measure as a curse to the national prosperity, Mr. Pleasants considered it the wisest and safest financial measure which Congress could then adopt. I do not undertake to quote his language, but to state, in substance the views which he entertained upon that subject, and which he published to the world. The opposition of Mr. Rives to the Sub-Treasury scheme, could not, therefore, have endeared him to the editor of the *Whig*. It should, in the ordinary course of human reasoning, have widened the breach between them. No; the ground boldly and openly assumed by the editor, for the support of Mr. Rives was, that with his assistance, the Whigs could carry the elections and get command of the government. This was the doctrine promulgated by the press, and echoed in the halls of the Legislature, by gentlemen of the *Whig party*, who claimed to represent the virtue, the principles and the patriotism of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

“If gratitude be among the number of a gentleman's virtues, and the greatest benefactors deserve the warmest returns of gratitude, what benefactors can Mr. Rives compare with the early and devoted patrons who gave him whatever of power and distinction he has acquired?

“Our country, too, whose ever grateful eyes his ripening worth so tenderly could see, that scarce she breathed an accent to the skies but what was winged with benisons for him! Yet, instead of gratitude for this rare, delicate and generous appreciation, I am sorry to believe, one only feeling now, pervades his heart—feelings of unkindness, not to say hostility towards the great body of his former political friends: the cordial and confiding friends, who placed him in the lead of his fellow men, cheered and sustained him in every strife, and aimed to raise him to the Presidential height.”

But we shall publish the whole Letter next week.

#### The Standing Army—Militia!

We request the reader's attention to an article on our 3d and 4th pages from the Valley Star, upon the new *Whig* Humbug of the Standing Army. It completely carries the war into Africa—and shows us, how much farther their candidate has gone than Mr. Poinsett.—Gen. Harrison was not only for classifying the militia, and paying the officers and sergeants of the active class (when called out to be trained, without doing the private the justice to pay them also,) but he is for giving a military education, at the expense of the Government, to every youth in the country. He is for extending the power of the Federal Government not only to all the higher seminaries, but to “every school within the U. States.” Let the reader calculate for himself what an enormous *patronage* and *expense* his scheme would inevitably create. Henceforth, then, let the champions of Gen. Harrison be advised, and take counsel from his extravagant errors, and show more charity for others.

But Mr. Rives and his Clique have been guilty of the grossest extravagance in raising this humbug. He insinuates, that Mr. Poinsett's Report suggests one of the most dangerous schemes, which has been set forth since the days of Oliver Cromwell; that he “knows of but one precedent for so profound a contrivance”—and that is Cromwell's scheme of his “twelve military jurisdictions”—and says he has “no disposition to question the originality of the Secretary, by insinuating that he may have derived the hint of his plan from so celebrated an authority.”—Is Mr. Rives so ignorant that he does not know better, or so insidious that he will not acknowledge the fact? Was he ignorant that his favorite, Gen. Harrison, has gone a bow-shot beyond Mr. Poinsett? But admitting that the plea of ignorance would excuse him on that point, could he have been so ignorant as not to know, that a similar scheme was proposed to the H. of R. so late as the 11th May, 1838, by the Chairman of the Militia Committee. We have a copy of this Report and Bill before us. The Report says:

“It is matter of surprise that this important branch of our national defence has been so long and so manifestly neglected. Executive recommendations have been made, and favorable reports and projects submitted to Congress, and yet no final action has been had or improvement adopted. The States rightly view any attempt on the part of the General Government to interfere with their reserved rights, with a Republican jealousy; and, therefore, the power conferred by the Constitution of the U. S., in the organization of the militia, should be exercised with the utmost strictness and the most rigid construction. The committee have, throughout the bill they now propose to the House, kept in view this delicate power, and have reason to believe that the States will not complain that any of their rights have been infringed by the provisions of this bill, but that the full and constitutional control over their militia is secured. Upon no other principle would this committee introduce a bill.

“The first section of the bill conforms generally with



the 1st section of the act of May, 1792. The difference is in time of service. The law of 1792 requires every able-bodied white male citizen between the ages of 18 and 45 to perform military duty; the present bill limits the ages between 21 and 40.

"The reasons that influenced the committee to assume the age of 21, were, that the power to exact the services of minors was extremely questionable, and that their services in time of peace were unnecessary and not required. Limiting the age to 40 was also considered proper, upon the ground that the increase of the militia, by the rapid increase of population, would make it entirely too unwieldy; and, furthermore, it would release a portion from a burden not required by the country at the present time. If, at any time, our country's liberties shall be in imminent danger, and, in her defence, an increased force required, the limitation can be promptly altered.

"The second and fourth sections develop the principle upon which the whole bill is predicated. They in the first place classify the militia into the *active* and *general* militia. The *active* militia shall be composed of one-tenth part of the whole number; the remainder to constitute the general militia. The *active* militia are to be selected from the whole body of the militia by the States; and it is further provided that they may receive volunteers for their quotas, if it is deemed by them most judicious. The whole and sole control is with the States, and there no fears can be entertained but that ample justice will be extended to all interested.

"The object the committee proposes in this classification, is, that the Government will have, at all times, and for any emergency, a certain portion of our militia ready to take the field in defence of her violated rights, and in a state of discipline equal to regulars. The committee further believe it will be the strongest and most effectual argument against an unreasonable increase of the standing army, and, in addition to this, will be a saving to the country, although an appropriation of a considerable amount is required by this bill to carry into effect its provisions.

"It requires the active militia to be encamped for the period of six consecutive days annually, to improve in military science, particularly *practically*. This is the only effectual mode, in the opinion of the committee, to secure an *efficient* and *well disciplined* militia. It is *idle* and *visionary* to suppose that the whole number of militia can be disciplined. It cannot be carried into execution. No military man will give any other opinion. An attempt to oblige the whole body of the militia to undergo such a course of discipline as is required of the select militia, would also be a serious inconvenience, and a burden the people would not submit to.—It is also unnecessary and uncalled for, from the present condition of our happy republic. So satisfied are we of this truth, and of the importance of the active class of the militia, we have an assurance in our own convictions that the House and country will sustain us in our views. The *active* militia are required, also, whenever a requisition is made by the United States, to perform duty *first*. This is considered an important requirement; it brings to the service of the country, at once, a *force* that may be depended upon, and of sufficient number, the committee believe, to meet any emergency. The number of this select militia will be about 200,000, if one tenth of the whole is adopted; if one eighth, about 250,000. The data upon which the committee have come to this result, is this: It appears by the report of the Secretary of War, (from the adjutant generals of the different States, and in some of the States the returns are very defective,) there are about two millions of able-bodied militia within the United States."

"It is believed by the committee, that the States will not (if this bill should pass) do more than enrol the general militia; and if so, will it not satisfy every citizen of this country what an important alteration has been effected—an active militia of 200,000 to 300,000, composed of the ardent and patriotic; well disciplined; not inferior in drill to the regular army, and ready to take the field at a moment's warning—a general militia, not subject to the present grievances, but have them so organized, as that in case of necessity they will be ready to maintain the rights of the people and their common country."

And yet Mr. Rives has the unparalleled assurance, or is so deplorably ignorant as to assert, that Mr. Poinsett may have derived the hint of his plan from Oliver Cromwell!

Mr. Rives also attempts to make a great rout about the expense which it would incur. He is pleased to say, that "it could not fail to add many millions to the public burthens!" His *par nobile fratrum*; his most dignified brace of supple followers, who have lost all the substance they ever had in becoming his echoes (of course, we mean Mr. Delegate Payne, and Mr. Senator Fontaine,) in their respective addresses to the People, run up "this army of 200,000 men" to an "expense of from 15 to 20 millions of dollars." Good gentlemen! let them not go mad with apprehension. The Secretary of War made a Report on Saturday last to the House of Representatives, in compliance with their

call of the 9th for his "plan, in detail, for the reorganization of the militia." It makes 44 columns of the Globe—and it really contrives to strip the Whig humbug of all its terrors. We shall lay the whole of the Report or extracts from it before our readers, as soon as we can find sea-room—but we must content ourselves at present with making the following extract:

"In preparing the details of the proposed reorganization of the militia of the United States, I have been governed by an earnest desire to place the country in an attitude of defence, and, at the same time, to secure it from the necessity of maintaining at any period a large standing army; to render the militia effective, without withdrawing too large a number of our fellow-citizens from their occupations at any one time; and to diffuse throughout the community generally some knowledge of military service, without taxing the Treasury too heavily. All this, it appears to me, will be effected by drilling, during four years, one hundred thousand men, for a period not exceeding thirty nor less than ten days in each and every year, at such times as may least interfere with their ordinary occupations; and, for an equal term, keeping that force so organized that it may serve as a reserve, ready to act in cases of emergency: doing, in the meanwhile, ordinary militia duty, such as is now required by law in the several States. The expenses of the system, which, if carried out, would place the U. S. in an impregnable state of defence, will not exceed \$1,362,093 yearly, if the maximum number of days for drill be adopted by Congress; and, as it is believed that ten days in each and every year will prove sufficient, the annual expense will be less than \$500,000."

(Mr. Poinsett proposes a drill of 100,000 militia.—The Militia Committee of '38 suggests 200,000.)

Yes, Messieurs Rives, Fontaine and Payne, such is the Secretary's Report—and what becomes of your "millions;" and your "15 to 20 millions." Take our word for it, good Sirs, the People of Virginia are not quite such fools as you are pleased to take them for.

#### Strange Correspondence.

The Address of the Democratic Committee of the 20th declared, that Gen. Harrison would not come out on the Veto question, because he dare not offend the Abolitionists. It seems from the following extraordinary correspondence, that he has determined not to come out at all upon any question. He has put himself into the hands of a sort of dry nurse commission; a "confidential committee," as they call themselves, who will not suffer him to answer any questions, or to give any further explanation of his principles. They beg the people, in his name, to take him upon trust, as if in a free country, eternal vigilance were not the soul of liberty—and as if the people must trust him with power, who will not trust them with his opinions. The idea is as preposterous as it is mischievous. How differently did Mr. Van Buren act, when he was called upon several times even by his opponents, to declare his sentiments. Among others, he told Junius Amis and the committee of N. Carolina, in 1836, when interrogated about the emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia: "I am not only willing, but desirous, gentlemen, that you should have the most thorough knowledge of my views and feelings upon the delicate and interesting subject with which your question is connected; and I shall endeavor to acquaint you with them in the fullest manner in my power."—This manly course commanded the confidence of the people, as much as Gen. Harrison's mysterious reserve will justly forfeit it.

The following correspondence, too, is alarming in another view. It shows us, how prone Gen. Harrison would be, if he should be elected President, to place himself under the control of a secret, confidential junta, who will dictate his decisions, and control his administration.—Such a man is not worthy to be the President of the U. S.—The correspondence, however, will speak for itself:

(From the N. Y. Oswego Palladium of the 18th March.)

"GEN. HARRISON.—We call public attention to the following most extraordinary reply, made by Gen. Harrison's committee at Cincinnati, to a letter addressed to him by the Union Association of this village. We are obliged to a member of the Association for a copy of the letter addressed by it to Gen. Harrison, and a copy of the letter of the committee in reply thereto.—We assure the public the correspondence is genuine:

Oswego, Jan. 31, 1840.

"To the Hon. Wm. H. HARRISON—

"Dear Sir—In accordance with a resolution of the Union Association of Oswego, I am instructed to propose three questions to you in relation to subjects that a large portion of this section of the country feel a deep interest in. The first is—

"Are you in favor of receiving and referring petitions for the immediate abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia?

"Second—Are you in favor of a United States Bank, or some institution similar to that, for the safe keeping and disbursing of the public monies, and for giving a uniform currency throughout the United States?

"And lastly—Would you favor the passage of a Gen-

eral Bankrupt law by Congress, so that its operations might be equal in all the States of the Union?

"I have only to say, sir, that the above inquiries are made in accordance with the unanimous wishes of this association, the members of which, I am instructed 'to say, entertain the highest regard for your past services, and hope, should you be elected to the high office for which you are nominated, that nothing may occur to lessen you in the estimation of a great and free people.

I am, Sir,

Respectfully your obedient servant,

MILES HOTCHKISS,  
Corresponding Secretary.

Cincinnati, Feb. 20, 1840.

"OSWEGO UNION ASSOCIATION:—

"Gentlemen—Your letter of the 31st ult. addressed to General Harrison, has been placed in our possession with a view to early attention. This is unavoidable in consequence of the very numerous letters daily received by the General, and to which his reply in person is rendered absolutely impracticable. As from his confidential committee, you will look upon this response, and if the policy observed by the committee should not meet with your approbation, you will attribute the error rather to ourselves and his immediate advisers, than General Harrison. That policy is, that the General make no further declaration of his principles, for the public eye, whilst occupying his present position.—Such course has been adopted, not for purposes of concealment, nor to avoid all proper responsibility; but under the impressions that the General's views, in regard to all the important and exciting questions of the day, have heretofore been given to the public, fully and explicitly; and that those views, whether connected with constitutional or other questions of very general interest, have undergone no change. The committee are strengthened in regard to the propriety of this policy; that no new issue be made to the public, from the consideration, that the national convention deemed it impolitic at the then crisis, to publish any general declaration of the views of the great opposition party, and certainly the policy at the present, remains unaltered. In the mean time we cannot help expressing the hope that our friends, every where, will receive the nomination of General Harrison with something akin to generous confidence. When we reflect upon the distinguished intelligence of the nominating convention—how ably all interests were represented in that body; we certainly have a high guaranty, that should Gen. Harrison be the successful candidate for the Presidency, that office will be happily and constitutionally administered, and under the guidance of the same principles which directed our Washington, Jefferson and Madison. Believing you will concur with us in the propriety of the policy adopted, we have pleasure in subscribing ourselves

Your friends,

DAVID GWYNNE,  
J. C. WRIGHT,  
O. M. SPENCER.

H. E. SPENCER, Cor. Sec'y."

"The committee are now publishing in pamphlet form many of the former expressed opinions of the General, and facts and incidents connected with his past life, which will be forwarded to you at an early moment.

"Thus it seems Gen. Harrison has passed into the hands of a committee, without the formality of a writ *de lunatico inquirendo*," &c., &c.

#### NEW JERSEY ELECTION.

The Case plainly stated for the benefit of those who love the truth, though unadorned.

One of the prominent subjects of Whig outcry or oratory is, it seems, to be the New Jersey case. On this topic, the retained lawyers on the Whig Electoral Ticket, are to descend long and loudly in the coming canvass. That every honest voter, who loves truth and his country better than his party, may have the antidote to the bane, and may be able to meet the sophisms of cunning lawyers with the weapons of truth, we offer the following plain statement of the case:

When Congress met this winter, eleven persons claimed to be the members from Jersey. But that State was entitled to but six. One of the eleven (Randolph) was clearly entitled to his seat. Five of the other ten were WHIGS, to whom the Governor gave his certificate that they were elected. The other five were DEMOS, who contended, that they had had the greatest number of votes; that all the votes had not been counted; that the returns from South Amboy and Millville, where they had got large majorities, were omitted by the Governor; that if these had been counted, there would have been a considerable majority for them, and in proof of all this, they produced the OFFICIAL Certificate of the SECRETARY OF STATE of New Jersey with the SEAL OF OFFICE attached, who certifies, that upon a careful examination of all the returns, the five Democratic candidates, together with Randolph, the Whig candidate, had received a majority of all the votes. There has been, also, produced, the communication of the same Governor to his Council, from which it appears, he had all the returns in his possession, and that in adding up the votes of the State, he left out the votes of



South Amboy and Millville, the effect of which was to take away from the Democratic candidates several hundred votes, and thus leave them in a minority. The apology for this outrage and fraud was, that the South Amboy and Millville votes were not returned in time to the Clerk, though the Governor had them in his hands when he falsely certified that the five Whigs had the majority of the votes of the State.

In this state of affairs, the House of Representatives met, and were proceeding to organize themselves, when in their progress in calling the roll of members, they came to Jersey. It was then found, that there were ten persons claiming FIVE of the seats in the House for the State of New Jersey. That State had only a right to six seats—of which Mr. Randolph was admitted to be entitled to one, and the other FIVE were disputed. What was to be done?

OUR PARTY said—let ALL TEN stand aside till we form a house, and have the matter looked into; and after it has been fairly examined, let those who have the best right take the seats.

Could any thing be fairer? Could any thing be more natural, than to swear in all the members from the OTHER STATES, about whose right to their seats there was no dispute; and then let THEM proceed to decide, as they have a right to do by the Constitution, which of the TEN Jersey men were entitled to their seats?

Could any thing have been more unjust to the people of New Jersey, than to swear in five Whigs, when the House was in possession of the certificate of the Secretary of State, and the confession of the Governor, that in point of fact, five DEMOS had received a majority of their votes!

Could any thing have been more unjust to the rest of the PEOPLE of the UNION, than to set over them FIVE persons as law-makers, who had never been appointed law-makers; and who, if they had taken their seats, would have been USURPERS?

Could any thing have been more absurd, than to admit either of these two sets of representatives to be sworn, without first examining which had the best right, when it was very well known that they would turn the scale between the two Great Parties in the House? Was it not fair and right, when parties were so equally divided, for both to cry "hands off," until it was clearly ascertained who had a right to the seat? Could it be fair, if the Whigs had had the power, to put the five Whigs in, when they knew they must come OUT again as soon as the matter was investigated? Would such conduct be considered fair at a cock-fight, or a horse-race; and if it would be scouted there, could it have been countenanced in the Great Council of the Nation? Yet, the WHIGS would have committed this act, if they had had the power. THE DEMOS would not, though they had the majority.

Let me add, that the result has justified the party of the people in their course. The investigation HAS BEEN MADE. The result has been, that the Democratic members have, after a laborious investigation, been admitted to their seats by a majority of 31 votes.

Here then we have the judgment of the House of Representatives, after a thorough investigation, that the certificate of Governor Pennington, is false—the BROAD SEAL to the contrary notwithstanding. We have the judgment of that House, that returns of votes from several districts have been suppressed, and improperly suppressed.

But what say the Whigs in and out of Congress? The leaders there, send forth the cry, "The broad seal, the broad seal," and through all our borders ring among their followers the cuckoo note, "the broad seal, the broad seal!" Will you, fellow-citizens, be deluded by this senseless whine of the violated sanctity of a BROAD SEAL, which now stands convicted of falsifying facts? Will you listen to the yell of violated State Rights, from those, with whom, State Rights are but a bye-word and a mockery; or, will you hold to the TRUTH—give to the people their rights and despise the seal, however BROAD, which would smother and extinguish them?

I willingly trust the issue with you, as I am willing to trust with you my all. We are embarked in a common cause; and I have no fear of your fidelity to the country, so long as you are faithful to yourselves.

#### ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

##### FOR THE CRISIS.

CHARLES J. FAULKNER, ESQ., &c., &c.  
"ONE OF THE CONVENTION" has seen Charles J. Faulkner's Card in the Richmond Whig. This important gentleman must be an unworthy descendant of Peter Paraglyph. If he be not the descendant of one of Foote's Orators, he is certainly one of the "Missionaries" sent out by the great Whig Convention, to convert the Republicans of Old Virginia to Whiggery. He will hold forth on texts taken from the Whig address, the Richmond Whig and the City Yeoman; precious depositories of truth! and a precious Missionary! to preach from such texts as the following: "He (Mr. Van Buren) claims and exercises the power to remove Officers at will, and none escape who oppose him." Will the people in the Country believe, that of the small number of Federal Officers in the City of Richmond, four

are, and have been for months and years, opposed to Mr. Van Buren! Yes, right under the eye of the Whig Convention, of whom Charles J. Faulkner was one; and yet, this Convention sends forth this assertion for truth! and Charles J. Faulkner is the chosen Missionary to propagate this and other such truths through his electoral district! Shall we be told that Clerks in Federal Offices are not Federal Officers? What then becomes of the clamor of Whigs about the influence of "100,000 Office holders"? Now for Charles J. Faulkner's "Card to the Public," and, that none of its beauties may be lost, we give it at length:

##### A Card to the Public.

CHARLES J. FAULKNER has seen in a sheet, published in Richmond, called the Crisis, appropriately denominated "the Enquirer boiled down," the following article:

##### WHIG TRUTH.

In the Richmond Whig of March the 9th, under the head of "Whigs of Berkeley," the following is published, among other things, as the statement of Senator Faulkner to a company of Whigs: "They (the Republican Convention) were distracted and disheartened. Appeals were imploringly made, during the sitting of the Convention, for union and harmony." Whether the falsehood of this passage belongs to the Whig Senator or the "Martinsburg Gazette," I will not undertake to decide, but that it is basely false, I do undertake to affirm and prove by every member of the Convention, and by every respectable spectator, not an Abolitionist or Whig. We did not get drunk because Clay and Wise had come to Richmond, and turn fools on the great event, as some folks did.

##### ONE OF THE CONVENTION.

"Charles J. Faulkner feels no surprise at any instance or at any degree of meekness, evinced by the scribes of the Federal Executive. He is aware that they are writing for a 'consideration,' hoped, expected, or promised—and that no man who opposes the re-election of the Chief of the Spoils Clan, will be forgiven or spared by his mercenary followers and dependants. C. J. F. considers it, however, due to himself, to say, that the impertinent language applied to him by 'One of the Convention' and his Endorser, would not have been permitted to pass without chastisement, had he not felt satisfied, from enquiry, that if their names were demanded, they would prove to belong to individuals whose insignificance secures their immunity, or whose circumstances protect them from accountability for the rude insolence of their tongues."

"In the Enquirer of March 18th, the Editor comments on Mr. Faulkner's statements to the Whigs of Berkeley, and says, 'True, there were appeals for union and harmony. Yet the term 'basely false' is applied, and suffered to be applied, by the Editor of the Enquirer, who is also the Editor of the Crisis, to a statement which he vouches to be fact. That the Administration Convention were 'distracted and disheartened,' C. J. F., in common with hundreds of other observers, verily believed, and yet believes; but if he is in error in that respect, he submits it to the public, if the application of the term 'basely false' to a matter of mere speculation, by a masked stabber, is not unauthorized by the nature of the offence, a cowardly and malicious assault, and a proof of the insolent and insulting spirit which actuates the office-holding party towards the independence which refuses to truckle to the Executive of the U. States."

"ONE OF THE CONVENTION" has been pretty much in the habit of considering, that which is not the truth, (whether looked, acted, spoken or half spoken) to be falsehood; and when any thing, not strictly true, is said to the prejudice of others, behind their backs, and in the absence of their friends, he considers that—"base falsehood." This is all he meant when he spoke of Charles J. Faulkner's slip. If "ONE OF THE CONVENTION" had said it was an eminent falsehood, the gentleman's vanity would, perhaps, have been so tickled, that we never should have heard of that alarming threat of "chastisement!" and the Whig Missionary would have been saved his quibbling excuse for an unjustifiable liberty with the truth. As he seems to be a terrible animal—a sort of Parthian archer, "ONE OF THE CONVENTION" will drop the terms "base falsehood," and in more complimentary phrase, tell Charles J. Faulkner, if he means to include him among those who "are writing for a 'consideration,' hoped, expected or promised," he asserts a pre-eminent falsehood.

This worthy Whig Missionary, whether under the influence of the glasses he had taken with his newly arrived idol, Mr. Clay, or not, and his "hundreds of other observers," verily believed! what was not true, when they believed the "Administration Convention were distracted and disheartened." He did not tell the Whigs of Berkeley this "was a mere matter of speculation" of his own. He asserted it as a fact; and he moreover asserted as a fact, that "appeals were imploringly made for union and harmony," and now endeavours to screen himself from the odium of misrepresentation in this, by taking shelter behind the admission of the Editor of the Enquirer, that "appeals were made for union and harmony." Now was not Charles J. Faulkner's speech to the Whigs of Berkeley eminently calculated to make a false impression? Was it not made behind the backs of those he designed to injure? What was it then, but basely false, or eminently false? if it please him better.

The Parthian who shoots his poisoned arrow and flies, finds a sufficient excuse in the fact that his assailant is a "masked stabber!" It is sickening to hear these "mendacious" and hungry office-seekers talk of the "insolent and insulting spirit which actuates the office-holding party towards the independence which refuses to truckle to the Executive of the U. S." Let it be remembered, that a little dog will bark much fiercer for his master than he will for himself. Charles J. Faulkner feels that he has a master at his back patting him on. Out on such Missionaries! They would healtheise and enslave all who listen to them. "ONE OF THE CONVENTION" is neither an office-holder, office-seeker, nor expectant of office; nor is he any great man's sycophant.

He is one of the Yeomanry; ask no favours of any, but such patronage as any man deserves who attends to his business diligently and faithfully; and he can say the same for his "Endorser," but not for Charles J. Faulkner; who, but for his supercilious airs and his relations to the most desperate faction that ever conspired against the liberty of this Country, would not have been honoured with this notice from

#### ONE OF THE CONVENTION.

Though very long pieces do not generally suit *The Crisis*, yet we are induced by the general sense of admiration, which the letter of Wm. P. Taylor has called forth, to give it entire, in the present No.—It appeals with almost irresistible force to the State Rights' Whigs of Virginia and the South.

By *Last Night's Mail*.—"In Botetourt, Hannah will beat Shanks from 150 to 200 votes. In Roanoke, Snyder will beat Peyton, if our ranks be not split by two candidates. (One of them ought to withdraw; and no doubt will.)"

The "Napoleon of the Turf" has been withdrawn from the sweepstakes in Chesterfield.—Wm. R. Johnson has declined in a letter published in the Petersburg Intelligencer, very much to the mortification of his friends—but he is drawn in good season, for he would have been beaten in the race.

Great Harrison, he was the one  
To lead the sons of freedom on.

Richmond Whig.

And when they went the foe to find  
"Great Harrison," he stayed behind.

New Era.

#### Items of News.

The Navigator and the Trenton arrived at New York on the 22nd, with late news from China. They left Whampoa, as late as the 26th November. The Macao Free Press of the 16th, gives an account of the commencement of hostilities by the Chinese, who, on the night of Tuesday, opened their batteries on the shipping at Hongkong. About half an hour after midnight the firing commenced, and continued until three o'clock in the morning, when it ceased for a time, but was resumed at four o'clock and kept up until day-light. If this engagement furnishes grounds for an opinion, the Chinese, we take it, are not remarkable marksmen, for after keeping up a hot fire all night, not a single shot took effect and not a particle of damage was done, there being a perfect calm all the while and the shipping lying in direct range with the guns. Although the British vessel of war Hyacinth was present during the whole time, no attempt was made to destroy the forts and batteries, and the fleet remained at anchor all that day and the following night.

A letter from Washington says, that it has been decided upon (by the Secretary of our Navy,) to send a squadron to Canton for the protection of our commerce, with the least possible delay.

Congress.—The Senate have been very much engaged lately, with closed doors, in considering an Indian Treaty, (N. Y.)

The House of Representatives are yet employed in a protracted debate on the New Jersey question. The Treasury Note Bill has called forth a great deal of debate. The opposition seem willing to embarrass the Government by the want of funds, and to stave off the passage of the bill. They sat up the whole of Tuesday night and did not adjourn till next evening after 5 o'clock—being engaged, and worn out, by the efforts of the Whigs to delay its passage.—At length the House adjourned without passing it.

The Committee of Conference in the Legislature of Pennsylvania have reported a long bill, which postpones the resumption of specie payments till the 1st October. The result is still uncertain.

#### RICHMOND MARKETS.—March 25, 1840.

TOBACCO—Inspections now average 40 a 50 hds. per day—the demand is good—and prices rather higher than last week.

FLOUR—Receipt light this week—the demand steady—sales at \$4 62½ per barrel—purchases principally for foreign export.

WHEAT—Supplies very small—sales at 100 a 105.  
BAGWELL, SMITH & JONES.

#### Wholesale Prices.

WHEAT—100 cents for red—105 for white.  
CORN—50 cents per bushel, and dull.  
OATS—25 to 28 cents per bushel from vessels, and 33 cents per bushel from wagons and depot.

#### WORTHAM, McGRUDER & CO.

TOBACCO.—Receipts continue light and inspections small—a better feeling has manifested itself this week, and prices have improved a shade. We quote lugs \$3 a 3½; general sales of leaf \$4½ a 5½ and 6; fine stemming and shipping qualities \$6½ a 9½; extra fine manufacturing leaf \$8 a 12½.

#### WINFREE & WILLIAMSON.

March 26, 1840.

Printed at the office of the Richmond Enquirer.

\*This savours of John Falstaff—What, "hundreds!" Sir John!